[illegible] Sometimes then by the son-in-law's avoidance behavior. Even when consanguineal kin, father-in-law is addressed as kin-equivalent.

Between senior brothers, who call each other "brother," there is evidence of good friendship and some cooperation. Such brothers-in-law often hunt together and frequently visit each other's camps. There also sometimes occurring partnerships. Talk of a senior man is not supposed to occur in the brother-in-law's presence, because "he's married to my sister." Between a man and his wife's sister there is generally good natured interaction; a man may tease this woman, and she may offer to help him in some task requiring assistance, particularly when his wife is absent. Women avoid unnecessary intimacy with this relative. Thus Louisa Man returned a gun which only the ethnographer (classificatorially her sister's husband) and her brother-in-law, Steve Donnelly, were in the cabin. She would not even hand it to the gun through the open door. During years when direct social approaches were severely taboo exemplified by Old Man's senior son-in-law several days consumed some in-law, Louisa. The latter freely roamed their environs.

In general, the Kaska feel little need to phrase interpersonal relationships with non-relatives in kinship terms. The reasons are apparent. Kinship is used as of slight importance in defining relations beyond the nuclear family, and the necessary of wider social relations is governed by frequency of interaction. It is consistent, therefore, that only the most intimate and permanent relations with nonrelatives are marked by use of kinship terms. Such relatives are most frequently classified as grandfather, brother, sister, and by the sibling-in-law terms, the son, daughter, and parent terms are avoided in such situations.

Several instances of avoidance kin relationships were observed. If two persons of considerable age difference are thrown into association, the younger person may refer to the elder by the grandfather term. The behavior toward this conventional grandparent may vary from respect to teasing. The elder person himself is generally familiar and indulgent toward the avoidance grandchild, whom he addresses by the given name.

In fact Old Man was kept to his daughter's husband's mother, Lady Sam, who was also his cousin with a father's sister's son's wife. Old Man took to calling her "sister." All his daughters called her "grandmother."

When the ethnographer and his family became guests of Old Man they were also extensively classified within the kinship system. The ethnographer's wife was called "elder sister" by Old Man's daughters. This correlated with the expectation of matrilocal residence, in which a daughter brings her husband to her parents' settlement to live. The ethnographer logically became a son-in-law. The ethnographer's children were not called by kinship terms except once when Louisa Man addressed David (4) as "younger brother." The expected term here would have been *ene* ("my sister's son").

Young men who are not related but are interacting in a drinking party often address one another as "brother-in-law." As pointed out above, sibling terms may be used between sweethearts. When kinship terms are extended to non-relatives, they are almost always employed vocatively rather than referentially. A stepmother is referred to and addressed as "mother" and "mama."

Among men, between whom there is no relationship, the given name is generally used as a term of address and either the given name or the full name as a term of reference. A man

enigmann E-4 (1963-1965) 1969 ND12 Nahane ND12

[illegible] functions of the society lie in the regulation of mari- [illegible]
[illegible] through the rule of exogamy and the supervision of potlatches. The former function is
[illegible] are the manifest explanation for adhering to these divisions. Thus River Jos ex-
[illegible] that the moieties, going far back in time, serve to prevent anyone from getting
[illegible] and marrying a too closely related person. Any ideas of the superiority of one

Crow the other could not be adduced.

These quite individuals identified with the Kaska Indians lack affiliation with any side. A
few Indian other Slave Indians, who have married into the Kaska nation, or else members of
Such a given tribe. The latter people never followed the moiety pattern of their neighbors.
Similar Individuals generally receive a conventional moiety identification when they marry a
the party of either exogamous group. No gesture is made toward formalizing such allegiance,
with a man being verbally identified with the appropriate side or being told to act with that
economic potlatch. A woman whose moiety membership has been determined by convention
transmits this affiliation to her children. There is no question, however, but that such con-
Ventional affiliations are less binding than more clearly established moiety membership.
moiety son of a woman whose affiliation was established by convention are often permitted to
exogamously and even the grandchildren of such a woman are recognized as having
Some daily work ties with other members of their side. Sometimes an effort is made to rec-
ognize apparent endogamy of such marriages by having one of the spouses alter her moiety
Affiliation. Thus Old Man married the Cree-Kaska daughter of a Cree woman from Fort
Nelson, B.C. The first Mrs. Man was commonly regarded as a Crow. After she married Old
Man "the Crow, however, she was designated as a Wolf. Some people were encountered who
changed originem" their side and thereafter married girls whom, they later discovered, be-
Some of to their moiety. Louis Man married a Wolf woman although he himself had been
supposed a Wolf mother. He later changed his membership to the Crow side. It must not be
the gossip that such forgetting is common. Louis blamed the priests for having "mixed up"
All tale regarding their moiety affiliations.

Permanent of the Kaska Indians and Sekani who trade into Lower Post (but excluding the
the more Lake people who generally frequent their own trading post), local white traders,
Some of sawmills, white trappers, and government functionaries may be recognized as mem-
Some of the community—a "maximal group of persons who normally reside together in
of Lower-face association."[9] A number of Tahltan Indians from the area southeast and south
southwest Post also frequently visit the settlement and these may be recognized as temporary
residents of the community. The one or two Tahltan families who maintain permanent
these places in Lower Post are, of course, full fledged members. Social interaction between
of these people is largely restricted to summer and is maintained through visiting; attendance
moiety ces, church, and school; friendship; marriage; gambling and loitering. The total com-
whom of, as has already been described, gathers in the spring and is dissolved in late summer,
Common most of its members disperse to their trapping districts and winter settlements.
mostly unity interaction during the Christmas and other winter visits to the post is pri-

The supported through visiting and encounters in the restaurant and bunkhouses.

Within the Indian section of the community (hereafter referred to as the Indian community)
[illegible] to divide itself into three sections, roughly corresponding to the tribal groups trading

[9] Murdock, et al., *Outline of Cultural Materials* (1945), 29.

1: Hunt/grosser, E-5 (1943-1965) 1949 ND12 Nahanni ND12

Ever since I was about three years old my grandmother raised me. My dad quit mama and then mama quit me. She didn't like me, so it was up to grandmother to keep me. At the place where I saw that outbank with the trading post on top, I also for the first time saw people heading across up the river. The steersman on the other side yelled to our people. "Moose swimming down the river." I think that's what he said but I was too young to understand. Old Charlie MacDonald and his people got in a big boat and followed the moose down the stream. I heard Charlie's father holler to the moose: "Take my bullet, that's the best bullet." In about three or four hours they brought back the meat.

My grandmother and her sister both followed one husband. My grandmother followed him around all the time. Sometimes, when she left me in camp to go out with a bunch of people, I became lonely. Once she did that and I began to cry and started out after her. Edward Cross' father, Kinzie, frightened me. He had an old muzzle loader that he filled with powder. He fired the powder at my feet. I ran home. When my grandmother came back I told her that I was going to stay with my aunt, Mildred. She told me: "Go ahead." But Mildred didn't want me. She said: "You cry too much." So I had to go back to my grandmother.

Soon my mother took me back with her again. We crossed the river to cut wood and one of our boys caught a squirrel with a sinew snare. I wanted to steal that squirrel. I wanted it for a pet to drag around and play with. We moved to some other part of the country, I don't remember where. The next thing I remember we were staying at Lower Post. My grandmother used to come here to live every summer. That time a great flu epidemic was raging. This was during the first World War. When the flu passed, a new kind of sickness hit us. People used to jump out of their houses and sit in the snow. Nobody knew when he died that. It was during this time that Madeline died. Then when spring came, in May or June, Old Cayuse's grandchild died. The boy had already killed his first moose. He used to show me how to hunt. One day he shot a duck way out on the lake. The bird drifted down and he sent me to get it. I cried because I was afraid, but he made me go. I got the duck for him and he gave me a bite of chewing tobacco for my work. That was the first time I tasted tobacco.

This was when they tortured my uncle. They called him a witch. I saw my poor uncle tied up but I didn't know why they did that. Once I tried to untie him, but the people nearly killed me for doing it. Then my grandfather, Old Lang, came to Lower Post. We camped downriver from the stores, near where the Highway runs now. The Hudson's Bay boat came in while we were at the post, and Albert Deane found out about my uncle being tied up in the woods. Albert went in there and untied him and took the boy outside. That time mama went to Telegraph Creek and Mildred went with her. Mildred came back again in August on the boat. I stayed in Lower Post with my grandmother and Mrs. Dickson. When my aunt came back we all went down the river again. I don't know where we stopped traveling, maybe at Coal River.[3] We caught up with Old Natucka and the Stone family and stayed with them to about Christmas. After that my grandfather sent word for us to come to his place. Old Stone didn't like us to go but grandma started out. Once we got lost because we followed the wrong trail, a trail that people had used to hunt and fetch meat. The next day

[3] See Figure 1.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 MD12 Nahane MD12

159 marital uncertainty of her female. At the time of observation this uncertainty was particularly severe. Her dependence on Love had been alleviated by the opportune gratifications derived from promiscuity with soldiers. When the troops began to be withdrawn, she was faced with returning to Love, whose financial position had worsened and who could no longer compensate her dependence with narcissistic rewards. She now formed a second attachment contemporaneously with her marriage and thereby began to earn a greater share of social disapproval, which more than ever imperiled her facade. The hostility released in the three dreams is derived from the frustration produced by her precarious situation.

NITLA KEAN

Adolescence (Special Section)

159 I was born close to Frances Lake. A day and half after I was born, my mother died. So
608 my father gave me to an old lady, Old Mattie, who raised me. Many years ago she had come to Frances Lake from the Nelson country. She had lost her husband and only one of her children still lived, Mrs. Sam. So Mattie raised me in Frances Lake country. She was an old woman when she took me and didn't have any milk. When I was put to the breast, I was always hungry and cried all the time. They tried to feed me canned milk in a cup. Then pretty
[853] soon milk came to the old lady. Girl helped her, I guess. I nursed for about three or four years, and after a while she gave me rabbit brains to eat and fish guts to suck on. That's good for children. When I was about four years old, Mattie for the first time bought a can of milk. I never thought about anything. I didn't worry who my father was or what happened to my mother. I thought the old lady was my mother.

159 Mattie treated me well. I played many games. With a bow and arrows I killed rabbits
857 and chicken. Every boy does that. Sometimes I had to fight. Some kids were known to be fighters and sometimes a boy like that licked me and hurt me. Then I would fight back to even the score. I never was a good fighter though; I can box pretty well, but that's all. When other kids bothered me, I fought them. Some people's kids were worse than others. They would throw rocks, but that's a dangerous thing to do and when the older folks saw it, they would become angry and beat those kids.

Gee, I wore out many pairs of moccasins and pants when I played around as a kid. I couldn't stop playing. I ran around all day. Just the same I was too frightened to go far from camp. I was scared of everything. A rabbit in a snare used to frighten me. Once I was out with mama, when we saw a trapped rabbit. I ran home and got a stick to knock it out. When I saw a stranger coming to the camp, I got scared; I would sit in the camp and never move. Sometimes, when I played around too much, mama would try to stop me. She even beat me. I didn't like to be beaten, it made me scared of mama. A couple of times my daddy came around but I didn't like him. He was too damned cranky. I wanted to be my own boss. My brother, John, is cranky too. He used to get tough with me. I don't like cranky people. Another thing that scared me as a child was to see grown-up people fighting. Sometimes a husband told his wife to do something and she didn't do it. Then, when the man came home, he would fight her. That made me scared. I used to run away. At Frances Lake I once saw a fellow attack his daughter with a knife. Somebody tried to stop him, but they couldn't. The man swung the knife, but he missed the girl. I ran away crying.

159 When I got into trouble Mattie would frighten me to make me sit down and stop play-
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